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BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the Peace Conference of Paris. Volume I. 517 pp.

Edited by H. W. V. TEMPERLEY. Published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs. 1920. Published by Henry Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton. London.

At last there will be a history of the Peace Conference. There have been many books written about the treaties which closed the great war in history; some of which have been excellent and few of which have been wholly without merit. But all have had a partial and limited character; they have been propagandist pamphlets, personal memoirs, journalistic diaries, collections of gossip, popular handbooks or, at best, monographs on some phase or aspect of the Paris Conference. They bear the same relation to the peace that the "war books" of 1914 to 1916 bore to the war; the fruits of literary industry without time and opportunity for profound study.

Now the historians have gone to work in earnest. A group of British and American specialists, whom their respective governments had called to aid in studying the problems of the peace, organized an Institute of International Affairs which in the comradeship of Anglo-American scholarship would prepare works of research on contemporary history. The first three volumes from which every reader will draw the highest hopes for their successors, cover the collapse of the German political and military system under the stress of war, the peace negotiations prior to the armistice, the development of President Wilson's peace program and its adoption by the Allies, the armistice, the organization and procedure of the Peace Conference and the problems which confronted it at the close of the war, the economic degeneration of Europe and the costs and losses of the war to particular countries, the detailed provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and the new constitution of Germany. Among the American contributors to the work are Professor Hazeltine of Harvard, Professor Shotwell of Columbia and the late Dr. Beer, who was expert adviser on colonial affairs to the American Peace Commission.

A work of historical research in the hands of competent men has a three-fold value: as a source book for more compact or

"popular" histories or for the historians of the future; as a narrative of events, and as an interpretation of their significance. This history has claims to high usefulness in all three aspects. Those who intend to write of contemporary history will find materials brought together which it would require much tedious research to find elsewhere; for instance, the appendix of the first volume contains the text of all the diplomatic notes relating to the armistice and the full text of all the armistice agreements. In part, the work is history at first hand; several of its authors having been personally present at the Peace Conference and having taken a very important share in its deliberations. Where it relies on other sources, these are usually official documents and reports or personal revelations by "men who know." The military narrative, for example, makes extensive use of Ludendorff's *War Memories*. Perhaps the most valuable chapter of the first volume as a contribution to history is the chapter on "Material Effects of the War upon Neutrals and Belligerents." Here are estimates of the cost of the war in life and property, the effects of inflation on national finance, the food shortage and money-glut in the neutral countries of Europe, the losses in marine transport and the extent, causes and nature of the famine in central Europe.

As a narrative, the history was faced with serious difficulties. A monograph developing a simple theme or a general history covering a long stretch of years and eliminating minor details can preserve the unities better than a work of research which must entangle the myriad threads that led up to the Peace Conference. Thus the first chapter of volume I is devoted to the progress of the war from the winter of 1916-17 to the armistice; the second chapter is a political narrative detailing the growth of the revolutionary movement in Germany; the third is an account of the armistice negotiations; the fourth deals with the economic effects of the war; the fifth and sixth treat of war aims and policies and, incidentally, with the effect of the Russian revolution on the character of peace terms; the seventh and eighth deal with the constitution and work of the Peace Conference, while the ninth and last chapter studies the armistice agreements in the light of international law.

That confusion has been avoided in the parallel development of military, political and economic narrative is in part due to the careful planning and "briefing" of the work, and in part to the easy flow of the style. There is no excess of footnotes to impede the story, and everything is told as simply and lucidly as the nature of the case permits.

Though there is no attempt at apology or propaganda, the history has not entirely contented itself with the mere jotting down of events; there is also some attempt at interpretation. Comment is always restrained and conservative, but the authors are clearly in sympathy with the cause of the Allies in the Great War and with the general principles of the League of Nations. The explanation of why the League of Nations Covenant was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles is significant:

To have produced unanimity amongst the twenty-six States who signed the German Treaty would almost certainly have been impossible, unless the signature had been made the only way to enjoy the benefits of the peace. So many vested interests were challenged by the League, and so many new forces had been liberated in Europe, which were antagonistic to it, that unless the League had been made a part of the peace it might have been postponed for a generation. Even more important was the fact that the Treaties themselves were made to center round the idea of the League to so great an extent that without it they became plainly unworkable. It may be asserted with truth that this result was not in the mind of any responsible statesmen when the Conference opened. It was, as is explained elsewhere, the natural result of the discussions at Paris, though it owed much also to the strenuous advocacy of President Wilson. But the recognition thus secured that the problems raised at Paris can only be solved by a form of permanent international organization is perhaps the greatest result of the Conference. (Vol. I, pp. 276-277.)

PRESTON WILLIAM SLOSSON,
Literary Editor, "The Independent."

International Law and the World War. By JAMES WILFORD GARNER. In two volumes. Longmans, Green & Company, London, 1920, xviii, 524; xii, 534 pp. Price \$24.00.

This monumental treatise was undertaken by the author at the request of the late Dr. L. Oppenheim, Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge University. In the execution of this request, Professor Garner has not only erected a worthy monument to the memory of Professor Oppenheim, but has added materially to his own high reputation as a political scientist and made all teachers and students of international law his debtors.

It was Dr. Oppenheim's desire that Professor Garner should "review the conduct of the belligerents in respect to their interpretation and application of the rules of international law, compare it with the opinions of the authorities and the practice in